United Nations S/PV.3447

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3447th Meeting
Friday, 4 November 1994, 10.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia (S/1994/1068 and S/1994/1166)

94-86911 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of November, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Sir David Hannay, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of October 1994. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Hannay for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia (S/1994/1068 and S/1994/1166)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Kenya and Somalia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Muthaura (Kenya) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia, contained in documents S/1994/1068 and S/1994/1166.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1242, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Muthaura (Kenya): First of all, Madam President, I wish to thank you for allowing me to make a contribution to the Council's debate on the situation in Somalia. I also wish to congratulate you and your great country, the United States of America, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of November 1994. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Sir David Hannay, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, on his successful presidency during the month of October 1994.

Kenya, being a neighbour of Somalia, with which it shares a boundary of 800 kilometres and the same ethnic population in the border area, cannot but take great interest in the situation in Somalia, which is the agenda item before the Council today.

It is approximately three years since the Security Council decided to deploy the United Nations Operation in Somalia — UNOSOM I, which later was succeeded by UNOSOM II. Since then we have gone through periods of frustration, expectation, disappointment and hope. The most disturbing experience was the first phase of the Somalia conflict, which was a combination of civil war and severe famine. Those two disasters left about half a million dead, and about 2 million people were pushed into the neighbouring countries as refugees — not to mention the thousands who were displaced in Somalia itself.

Though belatedly, UNOSOM, non-governmental organizations and donor agencies intervened in the face of the most complex odds, but nevertheless succeeded in containing and eventually substantially scaling down the humanitarian disaster. It is imperative that the Council take cognizance of this important achievement while deliberating on the future of UNOSOM and of the United Nations in Somalia. UNOSOM provided a stabilizing environment that made possible the delivery of humanitarian assistance and the rehabilitation of some

essential infrastructure, and, more important, secured the main air and seaports as well as the major roads for humanitarian activities. It also helped to scale down considerably the factional conflicts after the Addis Ababa agreement.

We commend UNOSOM, the humanitarian agencies and the non-governmental agencies for their contribution in Somalia. We pay tribute to the peace-keepers and the humanitarian personnel — all these people who lost their lives in Somalia in the service of humanity.

In the report of the Secretary-General under consideration as well as in his previous reports, the regional dimension of the Somalia conflict has not been given the attention it deserves. The neighbouring countries, including my own, have shouldered the heavy burden arising out of the Somalia conflict. My Government would like this important concern to be given adequate consideration by the Council as it discusses the future of UNOSOM. As stated earlier, at the peak of the crisis neighbouring countries hosted at least 2 million Somali refugees. My country alone hosted about 750,000 of those refugees. Along with the influx of refugees was widespread infiltration of armed bandits and dangerous weapons into the neighbouring countries, resulting in serious destabilization of the border region. Since 1992, Kenya has lost about 1,000 of its civilian population and 87 members of its security personnel in more than a total of 12,634 banditry incidents directly associated with the spill-over of the conflict in Somalia. The loss of livestock and property has been extensive: 30,470 head of cattle, 27,706 goats and 10,609 sheep have so far been lost to the Somali bandits. This clearly underscores the regional dimension of the Somali conflict as a serious threat to Kenya's security and to the economic system in the border region.

My country has on occasion made strong appeals to the Secretary-General to deploy UNOSOM troops for border patrols alongside Kenyan security personnel to minimize these incidents of border violations, but so far we have received no tangible response from UNOSOM.

Kenya, in cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), has been involved in the programme for facilitating the return of refugees to Somalia. The country still has a balance of about 250,000 refugees who are yet to be returned and resettled in Somalia. UNOSOM has been instrumental in providing the necessary stabilizing factor that has enabled this process to continue. In addition, it is important that the humanitarian rehabilitation and reconstruction processes be continued and expanded to ensure the resettlement of the 500,000 refugees and 400,000 displaced persons, as highlighted in paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report (S/1994/1166).

The time-frame which the Council has set for UNOSOM's mandate should be considered in a pragmatic manner, taking into account the complexity of the Somali conflict and the need to avoid the possibility that, in the words of the Secretary-General at paragraph 26,

> "following the withdrawal of UNOSOM, Somalia will plunge again into anarchy and chaos, the responsibility for which will rest squarely on the shoulders of its leaders." *(S/1994/1166, para.26)*

While we agree that the Somali leaders are squarely responsible for the continued interfactional fighting and the destruction of the Somali State, apportioning blame is not enough. The international community has the responsibility to persevere in the search for a peaceful solution in Somalia, as it is doing in other conflicts elsewhere in the world.

Two of the principal missions of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and responding to humanitarian concerns, have yet to be accomplished in the case of Somalia.

Kenya agrees fully with the view that the solution to the problem of Somalia lies with the leaders and people of Somalia. Nevertheless, the international community has an important role to play in ensuring that the people of Somalia and those of neighbouring regions enjoy peace and the comforts of life. Costs involved in UNOSOM operations have been staggering, but the value of lives saved in that country and the value of peace there far outweigh the costs so far incurred.

The Council must take all necessary precautions and safeguards to ensure that there is no escalation of the conflict after UNOSOM's departure. In that regard, waiting a little longer to allow the establishment of a central authority in Somalia through the ongoing national reconciliation efforts appears the most logical way forward. Even then, UNOSOM would have to be phased out gradually to avoid a vacuum. Any escalation of the conflict after the departure of UNOSOM would definitely jeopardize humanitarian and rehabilitation efforts and trigger new waves of refugees, which the neighbouring countries could not cope with. Increased banditry in the

border region could lead to more serious regional conflicts, which the Council should avoid at this stage.

Kenya requests the Council to assist in the establishment of a border-monitoring system to reduce the insecurity and tension that now threaten the border region. This needs to be taken into account in the Council's deliberations on the regional dimension of the conflict and the security arrangement which should be put in place as a safeguard against the possibility of an escalation of the conflict. As the casualty figures I have already mentioned clearly indicate, this situation should not be allowed to continue.

Kenya's security system in the border area has been grossly overstretched and the costs have been heavy, particularly in view of the extensive area involved, the weak infrastructure and the devastated ecosystem due to the pressure of refugees. We appeal to the United Nations and the donor community to assist Kenya to cope with this burden, which should be shared by the international community.

I am appealing to the Council to authorize a special mission to assess the regional dimension of the Somalia problem before the Council takes a definitive decision on the future of UNOSOM.

The President: I thank the representative of Kenya for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Let me first offer my congratulations, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency for this month of November and my thanks and the thanks of my delegation to Ambassador Hannay and his team for the excellent leadership they gave us during October.

The draft resolution before the Council today envisages the end of the United Nations military involvement in Somalia. We are, therefore, at a turning point — a turning point not only in the history of Somalia, but also in the history of the United Nations.

This is an issue to which my delegation has devoted a great deal of effort during our time on the Security Council. This is partly explained by the fact that New Zealanders have been involved in all stages of the international effort to rescue the Somali people from famine and the ravages of a horrible civil conflict. New Zealanders were involved at the outset in the humanitarian relief efforts. New Zealand military forces with troops and aircraft served with the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), and thereafter a New Zealand military contingent has served with the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

Indeed, it was a matter of great pride for me, as leader of the Security Council Mission to Somalia last week, that when the Mission was briefed by the Force Commander in Mogadishu one of the principal briefers was a New Zealand officer.

Most of the Western countries have long since removed all their troops. But New Zealand and Australia — although our contingents are small in number and are scheduled to depart towards the end of November — have remained. This demonstrates, I think, a commitment to United Nations peace-keeping in Africa and a belief that if the United Nations is to be credible it needs to be consistent and to be willing to sustain its commitments in good times and in bad — to stay the course.

But our reasons for participating so closely in the Council's work on Somalia go beyond that. We believe very strongly that the United Nations was right to respond to the crisis in Somalia in the way that it did. The humanitarian tragedy called out for a collective response. Intervention under Chapter VII was necessary and appropriate. But humanitarian concerns were not the only basis for action. The security of neighbouring countries was threatened. The situation in Somalia spread itself across borders, with flows of refugees, fighting, instability and very significant economic costs to neighbouring States, such as we have just heard from the Ambassador of Kenya.

My country is far from Somalia and far from its region. We have almost no historical or other connections with it. But we are particularly sensitive to and supportive of requests that the collective security mechanisms of our Organization be equally available for

the benefit of the small and underprivileged as they are for the larger and more powerful. In this regard, the needs and concerns of Africa have been heeded; whether it be Somalia, Rwanda, Mozambique or Angola — all these countries have found ready support from New Zealand in the Council. And our concerns have always extended to the neighbouring and regional States whose voice is not able to be heard in the Council as easily as it should be.

I have to admit that there have been times during the Council's debates on Somalia when we have felt distinctly lonely in speaking out in support of these principles and urging that the United Nations carry through its commitment to UNOSOM until March 1995, as set out in resolution 897 (1994).

We are therefore very pleased that this draft resolution restores consensus in the Council. We believe that the Security Council mission played an important part in achieving this. It established a common understanding about the situation on the ground. It established that UNOSOM had, in effect, achieved all it could achieve in Somalia. Neither the Somali parties nor the providers of humanitarian assistance requested that it be extended beyond the promised date of March next year.

A great deal has been written and said about the international community's intervention to help the Somali people. Too much of it has been sensationalized. There will be a need, before long, for a detailed and dispassionate analysis of the lessons learned.

But I believe that the international community has a great deal to take pride in. Nothing like the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) and UNOSOM had ever been tried before. Mistakes along the way were inevitable. But the fundamental humanitarian goal was achieved. Famine no longer stalks the land in Somalia. Death by starvation no longer threatens a whole people.

I believe we can look back and say that the risks that were taken, and the financial costs that were incurred were worth it. I believe that we can say with confidence that those who gave their lives in this cause did not die in vain.

On the political front, we did not succeed in forcing peace and reconciliation on the Somali parties. But the Somali parties were given a reasonable period of relative stability, created by UNOSOM's military presence, in which to begin a serious process of political reconciliation. The fact that they chose not to make good use of this window of opportunity is to be greatly regretted. The Security Council mission told the faction leaders very bluntly when we were in Mogadishu last week that this failure and the future of their people rested squarely on their shoulders.

The window of opportunity is still open but, as was always foreseen, the military umbrella, the blue blanket, could not be sustained by the United Nations forever. March 1995 has been underlined as the necessary and appropriate date for the final termination of the UNOSOM military presence. The demands on United Nations peace-keeping elsewhere, not least in other parts of Africa, mean that we cannot justify such an enormous military presence for a longer period.

The natural question which follows is: what about the future? And this is indeed an important question which the Security Council mission had to address. We listened to the aid agencies working in Somalia. We met with the non-governmental organizations. We heard from the donor community working out of Nairobi. The Council has heard the mission's conclusions. They are set out in our report in document S/1994/1245.

The United Nations is not going to abandon Somalia. Nor should it. The Somali leaders all saw value in an ongoing United Nations political presence to facilitate and assist with ongoing efforts towards national reconciliation. That should certainly continue. Humanitarian assistance and development and reconstruction assistance must all be part of the ongoing mission of the United Nations. The justice programme, involving the re-establishment of a responsible police force and working court structure, is also worthy of continued support.

However, the Security Council mission had to warn the Somali factions that all this would be in jeopardy if attacks on United Nations and non-governmental organization personnel were to recur, as in the past. They were warned that only a genuinely inclusive approach to national reconciliation would produce the kind of security environment in which the international community could continue to operate in Somalia and help the Somali people. We underline this message again today.

But what happens if the faction leaders ignore our warnings and the worst occurs?

Well, first of all, there have been some important changes in Somalia since 1990. Some good harvests mean that the indigenous capacity for the supply of food has

been significantly restored. Starvation need not loom as an immediate problem.

Secondly, many parts of the country have stabilized, with local administration working to quite good effect. These tendencies to regional solutions will undoubtedly intensify.

Furthermore, in these regions aid agencies and non-governmental organizations say they can now operate relatively well. In some areas this relative stability is very much due to the efforts of UNOSOM and UNITAF. But, quite naturally, some concerns remain. My delegation has therefore urged that this draft resolution must also address the future. We are pleased that it does this.

First, it emphasizes the absolute importance the Security Council attaches to the safety and security of United Nations, non-governmental organization and humanitarian personnel. Secondly, it emphasizes the need to sustain a facilitating or mediating role for the United Nations in the future. Thirdly, it underlines the importance of ongoing humanitarian assistance. Fourthly, it recognizes the impacts on neighbouring countries. Fifthly, it notes the interest of humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations in cooperating with the United Nations after the withdrawal of UNOSOM in transitional arrangements.

We are very much aware that after the withdrawal of UNOSOM much of the responsibility for these matters will shift away from the Security Council. But New Zealand considers that because of the extraordinary situation in Somalia and because of the responsibilities which the Security Council has assumed for the past two years, those responsibilities do not cease.

We have proposed therefore, and are pleased that this is reflected in operative paragraph 13, that the situation should continue to be monitored closely. The security situation, humanitarian relief requirements, the situation of the humanitarian workers, the impacts on neighbouring countries: all these need to be the subject of ongoing vigilance. And in the draft resolution the Council asks the Secretary-General, in the light of developments, not only to keep the Security Council informed, but also to reflect creatively about the role the United Nations could continue to play.

In this vein, it is also essential that we underline that the last thing Somalia needs at this critical time is more weaponry. Yet the arms trade continues. This draft resolution insists that the arms embargo must be respected, and we call on all concerned to shoulder their responsibilities in this regard. And those with influence on the parties and factions in Somalia must use that influence to promote peace and inclusive national reconciliation. They must refrain from supporting divisive trends in the country.

Finally, we believe there is a need today, at this turning-point in United Nations history, to recognize and thank some very special people.

We honour first those who went to Somalia at the outset of the crisis, civilian aid workers from the United Nations agencies and volunteers from the community of non-governmental organizations. They went at great risk, without military security, and far too many of these generous people lost their lives.

We recognize also those in the international media and others who brought the Somalia crisis so graphically to our attention. Their contribution was also of major significance.

The Secretary-General bravely set out the framework for the decision leading to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I). We thank him for his vision, for his courage and for his determination in persuading the Security Council to act.

When we look at the Secretariat staff who have worked on Somalia — and they are far too numerous to name — my delegation is filled with admiration for the dedication, courage and professionalism that we have seen, in the Department of Peace-Keeping Operations, in the Department of Political Affairs and on the part of the successive Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, their deputies and all their staff who have served in Somalia. We say "Thank you" to you all.

Finally, there are the military operations themselves. A particularly warm appreciation is due to the Government of the United States for its decision to offer its military forces to rescue the UNOSOM I mission. What has been achieved by the international community in Somalia, the hundreds of thousands who were saved from famine, would not have been possible without that American involvement. That should never be forgotten.

To the troops of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II we must also convey our warmest thanks and admiration. We honour all those who were wounded or killed in Somalia. We still find it

beyond belief that so many cowardly and irrational attacks would be made upon international personnel whose only interest in Somalia was to save Somali women and children from starvation.

And that takes us the full circle; it sums up why it is time for the United Nations military component to go. Somalia has been brought back from the precipice. It has been given another chance. The future is in their hands, but we cannot force them to grasp it.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Allow me to begin by conveying to you, Madam President, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the Council's presidency for this month. I would also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my country's readiness to cooperate with you and your delegation during this month.

Through you, allow me also to extend my sincere thanks to the head of the delegation of the United Kingdom for the exemplary manner in which he steered the work of the Council in the previous month.

I would also like to express my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Part Two of his lucid report on Somalia and for the commendable efforts, under difficult conditions, that he and his special representatives and all the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations have exerted for the benefit of Somalia and its people.

My deep appreciation goes also to the Chairman of the recent United Nations Security Council Mission to Somalia, Ambassador Keating of New Zealand, and to the members of his team for their historic and most difficult mission and for their comprehensive report presented to the Council in this regard.

The coming months could constitute a sad chapter in the future of Somalia and its people, who have been suffering for many years. The draft resolution to be adopted reflects the fact that the international community has exhausted every possible means to put an end to the crisis, and this has resulted in its decision to withdraw the military units from Somalia before the end of March 1995, without having fully achieved many of its long-awaited objectives. It also reflects, in the first place, the failure of the Somali people to benefit from the efforts of the international community and to achieve any political progress and pave the way to national reconciliation and the formation of a new Government to fill the political vacuum and, later, to restore peace and security in Somalia.

It is undoubtedly for the Somali leaders and the Somali people themselves to assume the responsibility for resolving their own problems, and here my delegation urges the parties in conflict in Somalia to work diligently together in trying to achieve national reconciliation by putting aside their differences for the benefit of Somalia and its people. That goal can be achieved only through the implementation of the agreed objectives and the future realization of a prosperous future that will satisfy the ambitions and aspirations of the Somali people.

My delegation is very much encouraged and grateful to note that there will be a continuation of the humanitarian relief assistance for the Somali people, by both United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations, even after the withdrawal of the military units, and that at the same time the Secretary-General, through his good offices, will sustain a facilitating or mediating political role for Somalia beyond this period if the Somali people are willing to cooperate with the United Nations.

The security of the personnel of the United Nations, the non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies will have to be guaranteed. It would be highly advisable for the Somali people to fulfil their obligations concerning their cooperation with UNOSOM on its withdrawal in a safe manner.

In conclusion, we appeal to all concerned to commit themselves seriously to restore peace and security in Somalia and to avoid any adverse action that might ignite once again the conflict in that country, in the hope of achieving, once and for all, national reconciliation for Somalia.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Dorani (Djibouti) *(interpretation from French)*: My delegation is pleased to have this opportunity to congratulate you, Madam President, on your election to the presidency of the Security Council. We are certain that all members of the Council share the trust we have in you and in your experience. We also wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the delegation of the United

Kingdom, led by its Permanent Representative, Sir David Hannay, for the remarkable work it accomplished last month.

Without going into detail, I wish to extend warm thanks to the Security Council mission to Somalia and to state in this connection that my delegation fully shares the views expressed in the oral report.

In adopting the draft resolution before it, the Security Council will be addressing to all parties, all movements and all factions in Somalia the clearest and strongest possible message, making it clear to them that the time has come for them to abide by Council decisions and to seize the opportunity of this last chance being offered them.

We wish to warn those who claim, rightly or wrongly, to be the leaders of these factions against mistakes and horrors fatal to this long-awaited peace. We say to them: "You have held an entire population hostage to your madness and your animal instincts long enough. You have humiliated your women and your children long enough. The Somali people, well known for their proud character and hospitality, do not deserve to be dragged down and reduced to a state of begging and to be made an object of endless pity, as you have done to them."

We wish to address their conscience, if they still have one, to say to them: "Forget the deadly errors of the past and take advantage of lessons learned. Put aside your constricting nationalism and tribalism, and think now about the future, about the common interest and the general good of the Somali people, toward whom the international community in general and the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) in particular have carried out such noble and praiseworthy work."

All the information coming from Somalia is in agreement on one point: the humanitarian situation is quite satisfactory. Considerable progress has been made in this field, even in such sectors of production as agriculture and livestock, when we consider the state of the country two years ago.

At a time when Arabs and Israelis are sitting down together, when South Africans, black and white, are building a new nation together, it is sad for us to see the only nation in the true sense of the term, in sub-Saharan Africa being destroyed by its sons.

In conclusion, I wish to pay tribute to the efforts undertaken by the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), by all of the civilian and military personnel of UNOSOM and by the non-governmental organizations, which continue to work in difficult circumstances. We wish to express our sincere condolences to the Governments and the families of those who have lost their lives in Somalia; their sacrifice will be for ever in our memories.

I wish to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, in these terms. As a person with Somali blood in his veins, I say to him very humbly: "Thank you, thank you, thank you for everything you have done for this people. Thank you for everything that you intend to do and that you are still endeavouring to do to restore civil peace and stability in Somalia."

Without wishing to shock anyone, I will say that the consideration of the Somali question by the Security Council was due in part to the Secretary-General; thanks to the Secretary-General, an entire people was saved from disaster, and we are very happy that the image of an emaciated child will no longer appear on the CNN television screens.

The President: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): I am very pleased to join the other delegations in congratulating you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We are confident that under your leadership, the Council's business will be in good hands throughout this month.

My delegation also wishes to commend Sir David Hannay and the entire delegation of the United Kingdom for the very efficient and graceful manner in which the affairs of this Council were conducted during the month of October.

The United Nations has not failed in Somalia, but it has failed despite its best efforts to persuade the Somali leaders to put the interests of their people above their own political ambitions and struggle for power. This morning the Council takes a very important decision on Somalia: whether to extend the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for one final period until 31 March 1995. The Council regretfully and reluctantly takes this decision against the background of a continuing lack of progress in the peace process in Somalia in spite of the tireless efforts that the neighbouring countries, the Organization of Africa Unity

(OAU), the United Nations and the international community have exerted to that end.

It was the purpose of this Council to give the Somali factions one last chance when a week or so ago it sent a special mission to Mogadishu. Despite the mission's timeliness, as the Chairman of the mission attests,

> "Everything we saw left the members of the mission with a profound sense of unease and a fear that political reconciliation or the emergence of a broad-based government which is widely acceptable is far from certain. There are all the signs that faction leaders remain ready to resort to violence. The risk of a return to civil war is real."

This is sobering and worrisome, but a sadly accurate assessment of the situation. It is particularly sad for my country, which has joined some of the States Members of this Organization in contributing troops to UNOSOM and, in our case and in some of theirs, losing some of our finest soldiers in active service in Somalia.

The draft resolution through which the Council decides to terminate the mandate of UNOSOM II by the end of March 1995 is a hard but realistic conclusion. As the Secretary-General has indicated in his report, the establishment of a viable and acceptable peace can come only from the Somalis themselves; it cannot be imposed by the international community. However, this resolution recognizes that the international community has a continuing role and responsibility in facilitating the political process leading to the establishment of a viable administration for the benefit of the Somali people in Somalia. In fact, it may well be — and this is our expectation — that, in being given a six-month notice of the termination of the mandate of UNOSOM II, the Somali leaders will come to grips with their situation and reach, even at this eleventh hour, a definitive and positive decision in the higher interests of their people's desperate need for peace and for the security of Somalia.

My delegation strongly believes that the withdrawal of the military component of UNOSOM II should not mean the abandoning of Somalia by the United Nations. We welcome especially the provision in the draft resolution to the effect that should the Somali authorities succeed in creating and maintaining favourable security conditions in Somalia, the United Nations and the international community stand ready to continue to play a positive role in both the rehabilitation and the reconstruction of the country, thus consolidating the achievements of both UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II. It is important to note that the draft resolution gives an assurance that in the post-UNOSOM II period the United Nations will be able to retain a presence in Somalia that will be beneficial to the people of Somalia. This is desirable and should be pursued, in our opinion. It is the hope of my delegation that the next report of the Secretary-General to the Council on Somalia, which is envisaged before 31 March 1995, will be able to make concrete suggestions concerning the future role of the United Nations and take due account of the need for continuing political and humanitarian assistance to the Somalis.

It is right, as the draft resolution also underscores, that the Somali parties should accept a special responsibility for the security and safety of UNOSOM II and other personnel engaged in humanitarian activities, especially now that withdrawal is about to commence. We must, however, caution that the phased draw-down should be conducted in a manner that does not create a security vacuum in Somalia. International involvement in Somalia has already taken an undue toll on UNOSOM and other personnel. At this critical period of withdrawal, the parties in Somalia are especially called upon to refrain from any acts that would endanger the security and safety of peace-keepers.

Finally, my delegation shares the immediate concern expressed a little while ago by my colleague the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations, and we join him in the hope that the security and refugee situations that have developed and continue to develop as a result of the continuing Somali crisis and conflict will not have further negative effects on the already very fragile economies of the neighbouring countries. The international community has to take positive steps to solve this problem.

In conclusion, we wish to commend the efforts of the past and present Special Representatives of the Secretary-General and their staff, as well as the past and present staff and personnel of UNOSOM, the non-governmental organizations and all others who are engaged in the very essential and successful work in the international humanitarian field.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1242.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 954 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: Madam President, my delegation is pleased to see you in charge of the business of the Security Council in this month of November. The Council is in good hands, just as it was last month under the effective and wise guidance of the Ambassador of the United Nations, whom we thank very sincerely.

My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution, which reflects all the concerns expressed by the Security Council mission that visited the theatre of operations from 24 to 27 October.

My country would have preferred the question of Somalia, in which the Council has invested so much, to have had an outcome different from the one we must note today. The United Nations intervention in Somalia originally had as its main objective putting an end to the famine in that country — ruined by the rivalries of warlords — which led to the deaths of more than 300,000 people. That objective has been fully achieved.

However, it should be recognized that on the question of national reconciliation, which should have enabled Somalia to establish lasting peace, there has been total failure. The United Nations is not responsible for that failure. Certain factions have consistently refused to cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Operation in Somalia to find a peaceful solution to the political question of Somalia. These factions bear the responsibility for what might now happen in Somalia.

My delegation has, in fact, received alarming information about an inflow of weapons and military equipment into that country. It is to be feared that the departure of the "blue helmets" might be accompanied by an explosion of violence, which is why my country wanted the Council to issue a strong reminder that it decreed a military embargo at the beginning of 1992. This embargo must be fully applied. The sanctions Committee set up to that end must fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by resolution 751 (1992). The Somali factions must also be warned against any looting of UNOSOM property, which the "blue helmets" are authorized to prevent by force.

In five months' time UNOSOM's mandate will be terminated and the "blue helmets" will be fully withdrawn. These valuable months must be used to keep trying to reach agreement between the factions and to avoid triggering a spiral of violence. My delegation is therefore pleased that the Secretary-General, in his report of 14 October, states that he has asked his Special Representative to continue efforts to that end.

It is important also to stress that the countries of the region and the regional organizations in contact with Somalia have a crucial role to play in the settlement of the Somali crisis.

The Security Council and the United Nations certainly do not wish to abandon the Somalis to their fate and remain ready to provide assistance in the form of political mediation if this is desired. Major progress in the economic and social fields has been made over the last two years. These tasks can be continued beyond 31 March 1995, as we hope, only if the factions agree to cooperate and to give Somalia a chance to set out again on the road to progress and democracy.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): Madam President, it is a source of great pleasure for my delegation, and for me personally, to see you presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council. The most pleasant memories of your previous tenure as the Council President are still fresh in our minds, and we are confident that your diplomatic skill, erudition and vast experience will ensure that we cope with the heavy workload for this month with success. Let me pledge to you the complete cooperation of my delegation.

We are most grateful to Sir David Hannay, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for the

effortless skill and expedition with which he led the Security Council during the course of the last month.

May I also express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for his candid and clear report on Somalia and for the bold, ceaseless interest and efforts that have characterized all his endeavours over Somalia.

Although my delegation voted for resolution 954 (1994), I wish I could express complete satisfaction in this regard. The resolution indeed represents an acknowledgement of the fact that, despite all the best intentions and dedicated efforts, the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) has not been able to fully deliver on the mandate given to it. The responsibility for this lies squarely with the Somali leaders, who, having twice reached formal agreements on the modalities and framework for the national reconciliation process, failed to keep their word.

It has been rightly contended that all that the United Nations could do in the context of the efforts towards political reconciliation in Somalia was to act as a facilitator and a mediator. It could not arrogate to itself the role of the Somali parties, and neither could it act as a self-appointed arbiter. Ever since the United Nations became involved in Somalia, more than two years ago, the Secretary-General has, through his Special Representatives and UNOSOM, placed considerable resources and means at the disposal of the Somali leadership in order to help restore normal conditions of civic, political and economic life in that country. Dozens of United Nations peace-keepers from many countries have even made the supreme sacrifice of their lives while serving in Somalia in the cause of peace. We retain the hope that these sacrifices will not prove to be in vain.

While we have not been successful in getting the Somali political reconciliation process moving at a pace which could be described as being even remotely satisfactory, we cannot ignore the achievements of UNOSOM in the humanitarian sector. Without the timely intervention of the United Nations, other international agencies, non-governmental organizations and the international community at large, the famine, the internecine conflict and the humanitarian nightmare that ravaged Somalia could have led to a catastrophe of unimaginable proportions. Today, considerable agricultural and economic activity has returned to Somalia.

However, in the absence of progress in the Somali reconciliation process, coupled with the lack of sufficient cooperation from the Somali parties concerned as well as the continuously precarious security situation in that country, it had become very difficult to justify the presence of UNOSOM II in Somalia beyond the period foreseen in Security Council resolutions 865 (1993), 897 (1993) and 923 (1994). My delegation therefore fully agrees with the decision of the Council to extend the mandate of UNOSOM II for a final period up to 31 March 1995 and that in the interim every effort should be made to withdraw all UNOSOM II military forces and assets from Somalia in a secure and orderly manner.

As a major troop contributor to the United Nations effort in Somalia ever since the days of the first United Nations Operation in Somalia, Pakistan considers that the issue of paramount importance in the process of the withdrawal of UNOSOM II is not some artificially contrived deadline but rather the need to ensure the safety of UNOSOM II personnel and the adoption of all possible measures and precautions to ensure that UNOSOM II does not suffer any more casualties in the process of withdrawing. The Secretary-General needs to have flexibility in the conduct of the withdrawal as long as every effort is made to complete it before the end of March 1995. Indeed, if all the requisite air and naval assets are made available in a timely and properly coordinated manner, the last UNOSOM II soldier could be out of Somalia well before 31 March 1995. The Government of Pakistan has decided to provide two frigates and an auxiliary vessel to assist in the process. We entirely agree with the observation contained in the Secretary-General's report of 14 October 1994 that:

> "The manner in which a final withdrawal of UNOSOM II is executed will have important implications for the future deployment of United Nations forces on peace-keeping missions." *(S/1994/1166, para. 18)*

I should like to take this opportunity to place on record my delegation's appreciation for the excellent work done by the Security Council mission which visited Somalia on 26 and 27 October 1994 under the leadership of Mr. Colin Keating, Permanent Representative of New Zealand. We are grateful for the honour done to Pakistan with the inclusion in the mission of a member of our delegation. The report of the mission adds to the validity of the decisions taken by the Security Council through the resolution that we have just adopted.

I would also wish to express my delegation's deep appreciation for the splendid work done by the Special

Representative of the Secretary-General, all members of UNOSOM II and the many non-governmental organizations and specialized agencies. They have worked under the most difficult conditions with a spirit of devotion and dedication that has been wholly admirable.

I would wish to emphasize that the withdrawal of the military component of UNOSOM II must not be seen as a decision by the Council to abandon Somalia. Indeed, in the resolution itself the Council welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to continue the efforts of his Special Representative to help the Somali parties achieve national reconciliation. It also requests the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the situation in Somalia and to report to the Security Council in that regard before 31 March 1995, and also to submit suggestions concerning the role that the United Nations could play in Somalia beyond that date.

Finally, let me express my Government's sincere wish that the leaders of Somalia will be able to display the spirit of accommodation and the statesmanship that are required of them in order not only to establish peace and stability in their country but also to restore Somalia to its rightful position as a proud member of the international community.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: At the outset, I wish to join my colleagues in the Council in congratulating you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that, with your remarkable and rich diplomatic experience, you will surely provide excellent guidance to the work of the Council for this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Hannay of the United Kingdom, for his outstanding contribution to the successful conclusion of the work of the Council last month.

On the basis of the Secretary-General's recommendation, the Security Council has decided to extend for a final period the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) to 31 March 1995, by which date the withdrawal of UNOSOM II will be complete. This reflects the willingness of the international community to pursue its efforts to find a political solution to the Somali conflict so as to bring about genuine national reconciliation in Somalia. The Chinese delegation therefore voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The Chinese delegation is of the view that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II should be implemented in a safe and orderly manner. Though UNOSOM II has to leave Somalia before attaining its goal of facilitating national reconciliation among the various Somali factions, it should try to avoid, to the best of its ability, creating adverse effects. The international community, especially the United Nations, should continue to care about the Somali people. In this regard, the United Nations should not only continue but also strengthen its efforts of peaceful mediation, and international humanitarian assistance should not come to a halt.

Through the ups and downs in Somalia, the international community has come to realize more clearly that the key to a lasting settlement in Somalia lies in the Somali people themselves and that the fundamental way out is broad-based national reconciliation, which cannot be achieved by resort to military means. The Somali question has remained unresolved for a long time, despite the numerous efforts of the international community, especially the United Nations and such regional organizations as the Organization of African Unity. For a number of reasons, the various Somali factions have yet to remove the final obstacle on the road to political reconciliation. This is indeed most regrettable.

The Chinese Government and people have been following closely the developments in Somalia and deeply sympathize with the Somali people in their suffering. We urge all the Somali factions to cease all hostilities and fulfil their commitments to provide safety for the personnel of UNOSOM II during their withdrawal. At the same time, we sincerely hope that they will, in the interests of their country and nation, earnestly implement the relevant Security Council resolutions and realize national reconciliation at an early date so as to enable the Somali people to embark on the process of rebuilding their homes and reconstructing their economy. We also sincerely hope that neighbouring States and regional organizations will continue to help the Somali people achieve an early national reconciliation, thus contributing to peace and stability in that region. We will, as always, continue to work with other members of the international community and to make our own contributions to a comprehensive political settlement of the Somali question.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: First, on behalf of my delegation, I congratulate you, Madam, and welcome your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. My delegation also takes this opportunity to express its appreciation for the work done last month by the delegation of United Kingdom, led by Ambassador Hannay.

The resolution which the Security Council has just adopted is extremely important not only for Somalia and for the Council itself, but also for peace-keeping operations in general. It is certainly neither pleasant nor easy to be compelled to decide on the withdrawal of an operation when its objectives have not been fully attained. This is all the more true when those responsible for the future of a people receiving humanitarian assistance could end up wasting a historic opportunity and delaying the reconciliation which circumstances call for.

The Security Council began consideration of the situation in Somalia over two years ago, in January 1992, in response to an express request from Somalia and to the desperate humanitarian situation which had arisen at that time, largely due to the internecine struggles between movements and factions in that country.

Since then, to try to achieve a reasonable solution to the crisis in Somalia, the Council has adopted various measures in a variety of contexts. Thus, the Council applied a general and complete embargo on weapons and military equipment; established the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) to help bring about an end to hostilities, promote the process of reconciliation and provide urgent humanitarian assistance; authorized, under Chapter VII of the Charter, Member States and the Secretary-General to use all necessary means to create a secure climate for humanitarian relief operations, which led to the Unified Task Force; established UNOSOM II, with more troops and a broader mandate than its predecessor's, ranging from protecting humanitarian assistance operations, to facilitating political reconciliation and the reconstruction of institutions, the economy and the infrastructure.

In the course of this year, in view of the meagre progress in the national reconciliation process and the impossibility of achieving the objectives laid down, the Security Council decided to change the mandate of UNOSOM II, adapting it to prevailing circumstances, and to begin gradually reducing its strength.

We have thus arrived step by step at the situation today, when the idea of withdrawing the Force is becoming inevitable.

In this sombre context, with established goals unmet, we can nevertheless take comfort from the humanitarian achievements. In this connection, we welcome the fact that, as is indicated by the Secretary-General, whom we thank for the second part of his report on Somalia, the worst aspects of the humanitarian crisis in that country have been overcome.

For Argentina, the gradual withdrawal of the United Nations Operation in Somalia, which should be completed before 31 March next year, does not mean that the international community is abandoning Somalia. The resolution that we have just adopted reflects the fact that, because of the present climate of insecurity and the unsatisfactory progress in national reconciliation, UNOSOM II is effectively prevented from carrying out its mandate.

The Security Council is willing to consider, on the basis of a report which the Secretary-General is to submit to it before 31 March next year, the role the United Nations could play in Somalia after the withdrawal of UNOSOM II. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General will continue to work throughout the period of the mandate of UNOSOM II, and beyond, to try to help the Somali parties to achieve national reconciliation through peaceful dialogue.

In this connection, we wish to emphasize the important role played by regional organizations — in particular, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference — and by the Governments of neighbouring countries in promoting the necessary reconciliation in Somalia and restoring civil society. In this context, it is particularly important that there be strict observance and monitoring of the arms embargo imposed on Somalia by this Council.

We trust that the international community will continue and strengthen its support for the Somali people and efforts to achieve genuine peace. However, the ultimate responsibility for reconciliation and peace in Somalia is, as the Council has already stated, in the hands of the people of Somalia.

The United Nations is prepared to continue its humanitarian activities, and encourages others to do the

same. But there is no doubt that the magnitude and viability of those activities will depend almost entirely on the degree of cooperation and security offered by the parties in Somalia.

The phased withdrawal of UNOSOM II's military force must involve precautions to ensure that it takes place in an orderly and secure manner, minimizing the risks to personnel and equipment, to other personnel involved in relief operations and to the Somali people themselves. It will thus be necessary to have the assistance of Member States in this process, and we join in the requests for cooperation.

We also wish to remind the parties in Somalia of their heavy, direct responsibility for the protection and security of UNOSOM II personnel and equipment and of personnel participating in humanitarian activities to help the Somali people.

We welcome the assurances of cooperation and non-interference with the withdrawal process offered by the Somali parties to those who participated in the mission that the Security Council sent to Somalia because of the important decision it was about to take on the future of UNOSOM II.

My Government wishes once again to thank all those who have dedicated themselves to humanitarian and peace-keeping activities in Somalia. In particular, we remember all those who lost their lives in carrying out their duties. We also wish to praise the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to bring the various Somali factions closer together in the common task of achieving national reconciliation.

In conclusion, my Government wishes to join in the appeal to all the Somali factions to agree sincerely, for the good of the Somali people, on an effective cease-fire and the speedy establishment of a transitional government of national unity. These are the first two essential steps along the road to peace, and we trust that they will be taken.

However, we remind those factions that it is not enough to speak of peace; first one must believe in it. Although necessary, conviction is not sufficient. One must work for peace. The United Nations and many of its Member States have already done so in Somalia — and very generously. It is now the turn of the Somali leaders, and once again the very fate of their people is at stake.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): May I convey my congratulations to you, Madam President, on assuming the presidency, and my thanks to those of my colleagues who have spoken generously about the presidency during the month of October.

Before adopting the resolution before us, the Council deliberated long and hard on UNOSOM's future in Somalia. We had been forced to recognize as the months passed that the mission's ability to carry out its mandate was becoming more and more limited, and that we were reaching a point when the Force had no meaningful role to play in Somalia. It is a matter of deep regret to my delegation that that is the situation we now face.

It was of course an ambitious mission to begin with. The United Nations sought to bring relief and to restore order and a civil society in a country riven by famine and civil war, with no government and with no functioning administration of any kind. Despite these obstacles, my Government believed that the combined efforts of the international community and the Somali people and their leaders would enable us to complete that mission by March 1995. We made a start. Through the efforts of UNOSOM, the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations, as well as the commitment of very many Somali communities and individuals, much progress was made. We saw great improvements in the humanitarian situation, valuable work on the establishment of a police and judicial system and a wide range of successful small-scale reconstruction and rehabilitation projects throughout the country, all of which helped to give a measure of stability and security to the Somali people that they had not experienced for years.

But, regrettably, there was no corresponding commitment on the part of the Somali faction leaders to achieve political reconciliation, or to cooperate in creating conditions of security. The continued absence of progress on political reconciliation and the lack of cooperation on security issues have left UNOSOM unable to achieve the objectives we set it, and it is against this background that we have taken a decision today to terminate the operation on 31 March 1995.

It is in many ways a tragedy that we have been forced to take this decision without having achieved the

objectives of the United Nations, and while the future of Somalia remains so uncertain.

But the situation on the ground really leaves us little option. We can no longer justify maintaining 15,000 troops in Somalia when they fulfil little function other than to protect themselves. Nor can we justify asking troop-contributors to put their servicemen's lives at risk any longer. The decision to terminate the Operation without clear fulfilment of its objective is all the more disappointing when we consider that many United Nations lives have been lost In Somalia already. In this respect I with to pay tribute on behalf of my Government to all those countries that have contributed personnel to the United Nations Operation, and in particular to those individuals who have lost their lives.

With the adoption of today's resolution, the message to the Somali parties is clear. A return to peace and the establishment of viable national institutions can be achieved only by Somalis themselves. We hope that they will make a sustained effort to work together to resolve the political impasse in Somalia. The responsibility for the future peace and prosperity of their country rests firmly in their hands.

It is also clear that the decision we have taken today has implications not only for Somalia, but also for other countries of the region. We cannot deny the potential for regional instability if fighting breaks out once again in Somalia. For their sake, and for that of the people of Somalia, neither the United Nations and the international community nor the regional organizations most directly concerned, nor the neighbouring countries can afford simply to turn their backs on the problem. The resolution we have just adopted does not imply that the United Nations as a whole has decided to abandon Somalia. The Security Council will continue to monitor the situation, and stands willing to encourage the Secretary-General to sustain a facilitating or mediating political presence in Somalia beyond March 1995.

We believe that United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations also have a continuing role to play in Somalia, and we know that they stand ready to play it. But their ability to provide assistance, both humanitarian and rehabilitation or reconstruction assistance, will depend on the degree of cooperation and security offered by the Somali parties. It is the hope of my Government that the agencies will be able to consider working in those areas of the country where security conditions permit. My Government remains ready to provide assistance on this basis and will continue to support activities under way in north-west Somalia.

UNOSOM's involvement in Somalia has been a sad story of noble aims subverted and undermined by a fundamental lack of cooperation from those the United Nations went to help. Of course mistakes have been made. But I fear that the biggest and most tragic mistake of all has been the failure of Somali leaders to grasp the opportunity the United Nations offered them to get out of the appalling impasse into which they had manoeuvred themselves.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): I wish to congratulate you very warmly, Madam President, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. Your competence and leadership will contribute decisively to the conduct of our work during the month of November.

I would also like to say a word of recognition to Ambassador Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom and to his extremely capable staff for the way in which the work of the Council was conducted during the month of October.

The unanimous adoption of resolution 954 (1994) concludes the process of the thorough examination of the mandate of the current United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) called for in resolution 946 (1994). In this process, the Security Council assessed the involvement of the United Nations in Somalia and discussed how best it could contribute by continuing to support Somalia and the Somali people in fostering national reconciliation and the formation of a broad-based Government of national unity.

Parts one and two of the Secretary-General's comprehensive and candid report concerning the situation in Somalia, for which we are very grateful indeed, provided us with information on the latest political developments in that country since the adoption of resolution 946 (1994) and on the discharge of the mandate of UNOSOM II. As part of its review of the situation in Somalia, the Council also deemed it appropriate to send a mission to that country, which had the opportunity of transmitting directly to the political parties the views of the Security Council not only on the situation in Somalia, but also on the future of the United Nations presence in that country. I thank Ambassador

Colin Keating of New Zealand and the other members of the mission for the very fine task they accomplished.

As the Security Council prepares to conclude the United Nations Operation in Somalia — since by resolution 954 (1994) it has decided to extend the Operation's mandate for a final period until the end of March 1995 — we consider it appropriate to take stock of what the United Nations has been able to achieve in Somalia. We concur with the Secretary-General's view that the results in the humanitarian area have exceeded by far the limited achievements in the process of political reconciliation. We would have hoped that the massive presence of the United Nations in Somalia could be concluded with a civil national Government in place.

The mission in Somalia was a fundamental element in the international struggle to eradicate famine and contain a humanitarian catastrophe of wider proportions. More recently, UNOSOM II troops have played the important role of providing security for humanitarian organizations as they conduct their activities. One should not conceal the fact that the Security Council has taken too long to realize that, against the backdrop of an extremely complex political situation, it could not bring peace to Somalia. Too much has been done and too many lives have been spent, with glaringly scarce results in the attempt to create an environment conducive to the attainment of a peace settlement and lasting political stability.

Resolution 897 (1994) represented a watershed in the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia. In view of the extremely complex and unsafe environment prevailing in the country, the Security Council decided to shift its emphasis from peace-enforcement to the provision of assistance to the political process in Somalia. In moving towards that adjustment, the Council made it clear that the Somali parties and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for setting up viable national political institutions for their country.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted because it provides the necessary framework for the role of the personnel of UNOSOM II and for the continuation of a United Nations presence in Somalia. The United Nations should do its utmost to continue to support the political process and all efforts that could lead to an effective cease-fire and to the formation of a transitional Government of national unity.

As we approach the termination of the United Nations Operation in Somalia, my delegation pays tribute to all those who, selflessly, have risked or lost their lives in the cause of peace in Somalia, and expresses its gratitude to the troop-contributing countries for their continued commitment to the Operation.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: As this is my delegation's first statement this month, I wish to begin by congratulating you, Madam President, on the wise and rigorous manner in which you are conducting the Council's proceedings, thus displaying your experience and high diplomatic skills. You can count on our complete cooperation.

I wish also to convey my delegation's appreciation and recognition to Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom for the very able way in which he led our deliberations in October.

By resolution 954 (1994), which the Security Council has just adopted unanimously, we have extended the mandate of the current United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for a final period until 31 March 1995. This was a difficult decision, which the Council took in a fully informed manner and with a full sense of responsibility. Part two of the Secretary-General's report, dated 14 October 1994, concerning the situation in Somalia states that the lack of agreement between the Somali factions on the achievement of national reconciliation, and the continued deterioration of security conditions in Somalia, make it necessary to consider the reduction and withdrawal of UNOSOM II personnel and thus to terminate its mandate on 31 March 1995, an objective already stated, of course, in earlier resolutions of the Security Council.

Aware of the importance of undertaking a thorough and detailed examination of the mandate of UNOSOM II and its future, the Council decided to send a mission to Somalia to convey to the Somali parties the decision it intended to take and to reiterate that, today more than ever, the responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and peace in Somalia rests on their shoulders. Led in exemplary fashion by the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, Ambassador Keating, the mission effectively fulfilled its mandate, as the oral report of 31 October to the members of the Council reflects. We wish to express our appreciation to the members of the mission and its Chairman, the Ambassador of New Zealand.

Throughout the mandate of UNOSOM II, the Council has striven to adapt that mandate to ensure that the work of the United Nations in Somalia provided a flexible instrument to the Somalis to promote their initiatives in the political process of attaining security and national reconstruction, rather than something imposed on them by the international community. We regret that that instrument has been manipulated by the factions, which have wasted the sincere efforts of the United Nations to help the Somali people take the reins again to control their own destiny.

The lack of cooperation and the desire for political dominance, as manifested in struggles and divisions between the various clans, have contributed to the creation of a climate of insecurity, making it impossible to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in Somalia. Hence, there is no justification for the personnel of UNOSOM II to remain in the country beyond the established deadline.

It is our fervent hope that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II personnel will take place in an orderly and safe manner, and we therefore appeal strongly to the Somali parties to refrain from any act of intimidation or violence against United Nations personnel or the personnel of humanitarian relief organizations. In any event, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, the cooperation of Member States to facilitate UNOSOM II's withdrawal process in the best possible conditions will be essential.

Spain wishes to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representatives, to all the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia, to all the personnel of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) headed by the United States and to the humanitarian-assistance personnel who have been working in Somalia, most especially all those who have sacrificed their lives in the course of this mission. That sacrifice has not been in vain, as can be seen from the accomplishments in Somalia over the past two years.

The images seen all over the world in December 1992 of the Somali population's famine, impoverishment and abandonment have in large part disappeared. Thanks to the constant dedication of thousands of people, the international community has contributed to improving the lot of the Somalis and laying the groundwork for the reconstruction of the country. However, all of that cannot obscure the fact that it has not been possible to attain all the objectives of the United Nations in Somalia and that serious problems persist in that country.

The resolution we have just adopted recognizes that the United Nations will continue to have a political and humanitarian role in Somalia after 31 March 1995, provided that the Somalis want it to and that the Somali parties are willing to cooperate. This makes it clear that we are not abandoning the Somali people completely and that its future will continue to be a matter of concern for the Council and for the United Nations at large.

In this new phase the continuing and renewed efforts of regional organizations — in particular, of the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference — as well as those of the neighbouring countries in the Horn of Africa region are essential for promoting understanding among all Somalis, and especially for preventing any exacerbation of existing divisions. By the same token, there is a need for the United Nations and the international community as a whole to continue to cooperate with the countries of the region, as the representative of Kenya requested here today, to deal with problems encountered by those countries as a result of the continued instability in Somalia.

The Council's decision today to terminate the mandate of UNOSOM II on 31 March 1995 cannot be construed as a failure of the United Nations involvement in Somalia. It is, rather, evidence that without the effective cooperation of the parties involved any peace-keeping operation will be unable to reach all its objectives. Stability, reconstruction and progress in Somalia must be the fruit of a joint effort by all the Somali parties for the good of the population as a whole. As long as the Somali factions continue to place their partisan interests before those of the people as a whole, Somalia will be unable to regain a normal existence or fully reincorporate itself into the mainstream of today's world.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Allow me to associate myself with those colleagues who have congratulated you, Madam President, on your assumption of your duties for this month and also, through you, to thank the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Sir David Hannay, for the great skill he displayed in conducting our business last month.

The Russian delegation voted in favour of the resolution on Somalia in the belief that it sends a clear signal to the leaders of the Somali factions that the international community cannot keep waiting and providing major resources for much longer in circumstances in which the Somali parties are not ready to turn away from confrontation towards national reconciliation and the creation of civil society in their country.

The deployment of the large-scale United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and the political efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General have created favourable conditions for helping the Somalis reach a truly comprehensive political settlement, pursuant to the Addis Ababa agreement and the Nairobi Declaration.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the Somali factions have not taken advantage of the opportunity provided them. Moreover, because of the lack of progress in national reconciliation, the situation in that country continues to worsen. Particularly inadmissible are attacks and other hostile actions against personnel of UNOSOM II and other international personnel working in Somalia to provide assistance to the Somalis.

We supported the decision that has just been taken to extend the current mandate of UNOSOM II for the purpose of concluding the operation by 31 March 1995. We did so well understanding the entire complexity of the task relating to the withdrawal of UNOSOM II personnel. We agree with the demand that all the Somali parties refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against United Nations personnel.

We voted in favour of the resolution in the belief that the United Nations is not abandoning Somalia to its fate and will be prepared to continue to play a political role in facilitating national reconciliation — provided, of course, that this is what the Somalis themselves want.

One relevant matter, from the point of view of maintaining the political process, is the invitation, contained in the resolution, to the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to continue to cooperate with the United Nations in the search for lasting peace in Somalia, as well as the call on all Member States — in particular the neighbouring States — to continue to provide support for the Somali efforts towards genuine peace and to refrain from any action capable of exacerbating the conflict situation in the country. In this context, the Security Council has issued a very pertinent reminder regarding the need for strict observance of the arms embargo imposed on Somalia.

The Russian delegation commends the achievements of the mission sent to Somalia by the Security Council; its conclusions were of great assistance to us in the drafting of the resolution.

In conclusion, I should like once again to appeal to the leaders of the Somali factions to stop and think, to give up their ambitions and to realize finally the entire scope of the responsibility that they must shoulder in determining the fate of their own country and their own people. We regret that, in view of certain circumstances, to which reference has been made, UNOSOM was unable to achieve its goals in Somalia. Among other matters, this experience will have to be taken into consideration in the future work of the Security Council to determine the goals of United Nations peace-keeping operations in various regions.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

Today the Security Council has adopted the final extension of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). After 31 March of next year UNOSOM will be brought to a close. Now is the time to stop and reflect on what has been accomplished by the United Nations in Somalia — and what has not.

The most important accomplishment, as recognized in today's resolution, is the hundreds of thousands of lives saved from starvation. Those Somalis, many innocent women and children who probably never heard of the United Nations, stand as the greatest testament to the success of UNOSOM and of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF). Sadly, that success had a price — the lives of brave peace-keepers from many nations, including my own. But the hundreds of thousands of Somali survivors will be a living monument to the fallen United Nations peace-keepers in the years ahead.

The other principal accomplishment of UNOSOM has been to provide a window of opportunity for the Somalis to put their country together again after the devastation it suffered. Throughout the two years of UNOSOM and UNITAF, the Council has always

accepted the principle that it is the responsibility of the people of Somalia to bring peace and reconciliation to their country. The international community was present to help, but it could never impose a solution.

Have the people of Somalia — especially their leaders — taken advantage of this opportunity? Today, that question is still in doubt. Certainly the road to reconciliation has been a difficult one. Perhaps in UNOSOM's remaining time a genuine solution will emerge. For that reason we welcome the decision of the Secretary-General to continue political efforts through his Special Representative to assist the Somalis to achieve reconciliation.

But even if next March comes without a broadly acceptable national Government in Somalia the United Nations effort will not have been a failure. The international community offered a helping hand and, in the face of often violent opposition, firmly held that hand open for over two years, ready and willing to help.

As this Council has come to realize, the true value of peace-keeping is the chance it offers for people and nations to help themselves to move beyond the dead-end path of violence and on to the path to peace.

UNOSOM has done its part. Of course the United Nations and the international community will remain engaged with Somalia after March through humanitarian efforts, and political efforts if desired. The Somalis need not fear that the world will turn its back on them. But the United Nations peace-keeping role is over. In the coming weeks the last troops will be returning as soon as possible. The attention of UNOSOM's military forces during this period will of necessity be on a safe and orderly withdrawal. In these closing days, we caution all to ensure a peaceful departure for those who bear the title "peace-keepers". Adding more names now to the already-too-long list of UNOSOM casualties would be intolerable.

And so, with this resolution, a peace-keeping operation will come to a close. The long and difficult task is done. But later, when brave men and women look back on what they did in Somalia, they will remember the lives that they saved and the chance for peace that they offered. That will be their legacy — one that all of us in the international community can be very proud of.

I shall now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further names on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3448

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3448th Meeting
Friday, 4 November 1994, 12.35 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

An agenda for peace: peace-keeping

Letter dated 15 September 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and New Zealand to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1063)

94-86917 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

An agenda for peace: peace-keeping

Letter dated 15 September 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and New Zealand to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1063)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1063, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 September 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and New Zealand to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1136, letter dated 6 October 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1193, letter dated 20 October 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1201, letter dated 17 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Uruguay to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1219, letter dated 26 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1221, letter dated 26 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1231, letter dated 27 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1237, letter dated 1 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/1238, letter dated 1 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has given further consideration to the question of communication between members and non-members of the Council, in particular troop contributing countries, which was addressed in the statement of the President of the Council of 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22). The Council remains conscious of the implications which its decisions on peace-keeping operations have for troop contributing countries. Having regard to the increase in the number and complexity of such operations, it believes that there is a need for further enhancement, in a pragmatic and flexible manner, of the arrangements for consultation and exchange of information with troop contributing countries.

"To this end, the Security Council has decided in future to follow the procedures set out in this statement:

— meetings should be held as a matter of course between members of the Council, troop contributing countries and the Secretariat to facilitate the exchange of information and views in good time before the Council takes decisions on extension or termination of, or significant changes in, the mandate of a particular peace-keeping operation;

— such meetings would be chaired jointly by the Presidency of the Council and a representative of the Secretariat nominated by the Secretary-General;

— the monthly tentative forecast of work of the Council made available to Member States will in future include an indication of the expected schedule of such meetings for the month;

— in the context of their review of the tentative forecast, the members of the Council will examine this schedule and communicate any suggested changes or proposals as to the timing of meetings to the Secretariat;

— ad hoc meetings chaired jointly by the Presidency of the Security Council and a representative of the Secretariat nominated by the Secretary-General may be convened in the event of unforeseen developments in a particular peace-

keeping operation which could require action by the Council;

— such meetings will be in addition to those convened and chaired solely by the Secretariat for troop contributors to meet with Special Representatives of the Secretary-General or Force Commanders or to discuss operational matters concerning particular peace-keeping operations, to which members of the Security Council will also be invited;

— an informal paper, including topics to be covered and drawing attention to relevant background documentation, will be circulated by the Secretariat to the participants well in advance of each of the various meetings referred to above;

— the time and venue of each meeting with members of the Council and troop contributors to a peace-keeping operation should where possible appear in advance in the *Journal* of the United Nations;

— the President of the Council will, in the course of informal consultations of members of the Council, summarize the views expressed by participants at each meeting with troop contributors.

"The Security Council recalls that the arrangements described herein are not exhaustive. Consultations may take a variety of forms, including informal communication between the Council President or its members and troop contributing countries and, as appropriate, with other countries especially affected, for example from the region concerned.

"The Security Council will keep arrangements for the exchange of information and views with troop contributors under review and stands ready to consider further measures to enhance arrangements in the light of experience.

"The Security Council will also keep under review arrangements to improve the quality and speed of the flow of information available to support Council decision-making bearing in mind the conclusions contained in its statement of 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22)."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under symbol S/PRST/1994/62.

We have thus concluded our business for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place immediately following this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.